Gazette of the United States.

[No. XLIII.] WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1789. [*Published on Wednesday and Saturday.*]

THE TABLET.—No. XLIII.

"The passions and prejudices of men often mask themselves under the names of virtuous qualities."

MY last number exhibited to the view of the reader two characters, who, without any bad intentions, were instrumental in keeping alive a spirit of jealousy and uneasiness among the people, relative to the affairs of government. I shall now introduce some more of my acquaintance, whose motives perhaps are not quite so unexceptionable.

The noisy FUMOSUS is more troublesome, if not more dangerous, than either of the characters just mentioned. His passions are so tumultuous that he can never examine any circumstance with candor, and deliberation. He carries every thing to extremes. Whether he is in or out of office, he creates many enemies against the government, by his rashness and indiscretion. If he or some of his particular friends should happen to have a leading influence, he runs into a vehemence of applause on public men and measures. Should the reverse be the case, the whole fury of his passions takes a different course. He joins the discontented and seditious, and reprobates public proceedings with acrimony and revenge. Though he enters into no systems to overthrow the government, and though his passions will vary or subside, yet he is a great fomenter of jealousy and uneasiness among the people. His petulance does not, like that of INFELIX, waste itself in indefinite clamor, but he points his arrows at particular objects, and hunts after them with eagerness and rage. Different passions and feelings at times are uppermost. By turns he shews jealousy, envy, resentment, antipathy, and attachment; and which ever of them prevails, it does not stop short of the highest degree of excess. When disappointed, he raves at the administration; when successful, he idolizes it, and threatens perdition to its enemies. Upon the whole, FUMOSUS, though he is not a man of knavery and intrigue, is still a dangerous character. The impetuosity of his conduct is calculated to excite undue prejudices against the government, and frighten many well-meaning people with false alarms.

My acquaintance PROFUNDUS puzzles many people exceedingly. No person can penetrate more readily into the view of another.—He is cool, designing and mysterious. His favorite theories must not be called in question; and he approves or disapproves of any public transaction, according as it will promote or frustrate his peculiar system of politics. Such characters as PROFUNDUS are not common. It requires researches so elaborate, and an attention to objects so minute and persevering to form abstract systems, that a small proportion of mankind will ever make the attempt. Few men have patience and application, and fewer still have the abilities and address to proceed systematically.—Such speculative men often lead others astray; because their plans, when compared with practice and experiment, are fallacious. I entertain a good opinion of the talents of PROFUNDUS, and I have no reason to scruple his integrity. But he is so dark and incomprehensible, that when he happens to take a wrong way of thinking, he draws others into the same error, by starting difficulties, with which common minds are perplexed and alarmed. I would recommend it to the honest part of my readers, who love tranquility, to have little to do with men, whom they cannot understand. Plain, practical politicians, who are more noted for good actions than for loud or fair words, are the safest guide and counsel.

The vanity and ostentation of OPINUS is very disgusting. His dislike to public measures proceeds from an affected singularity of opinion. It is his highest aim to recommend himself to the world as a person of more than ordinary discernment. This easily accounts for the spirit of opposition which is so predominating a part of his character. If he should acquiesce in any measure, which he did not originally propose, it would prevent the pride and triumph of opposing the current opinion of mankind, and making his own sagacity more conspicuous. The only conclusion that can be drawn from his disapprobation of any measure, is, that he did not introduce it; but it is no argument that the thing is wrong.

Thus have I delineated some of the motives and qualifications of a few individuals, for whose friendship, I have a great value. Their conversation, however, sometimes makes unfavorable impressions; and I find that some of their associates catch their foibles. The peevishness of INFELIX sours the temper of some people against the government. The incapacity of BENEVOLUS, makes him unqualified to give such advice, as the mildness of his disposition tempts his acquaintance to ask of him. The turbulence of FUMOSUS, frightens his companions into a dread of imaginary evils. The mystery of PROFUNDUS entangles many an honest man in doubts. The vanity and pomp of OPINUS allures the shallow and fickle-minded into error and instability.

It would be well for people to obtain a satisfactory solution to this question; whether there are not more causes that induce public men to seek the public prosperity, than probably influence either of the characters marked out in this speculation.

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 9, 1789.

SKETCH OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES,

MONDAY, AUGUST 31.

In committee of the whole on the JUDICIAL BILL.

THIRD SECTION UNDER CONSIDERATION.

MR. LIVERMORE: I think this law will entirely change the form of government of the United States.

Several observations have been made on the clause: It is said to be the hinge on which the whole turns: Some of the objections which I have thrown out, have been attempted to be answered—among others the great expence—by expence I do not mean the salaries of Judges—this will however be greater than the whole expence of the Judiciary throughout the United States; but I refer to the general expences, which must be borne by the people at large, for jails, court houses, &c.—the expences of jurors and witnesses, and other incidental charges, will be another great burthen: This is at present borne without repining, as the people receive compensation in personal security and public justice; but if all these are to be *doubled* throughout, it will be justly considered as intolerable. Another burthen is the rapidity of the course of prosecution in these courts, by which debtors will be obliged very suddenly to pay their debts at a great disadvantage: Something like this, occasioned the insurrection in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: In other States similar modes of rapidity in the collection of debts have produced conventions: This has been the case to the Northward, and as I have been informed, has also to the Southward.

This new fangled system will eventually swallow up the State Courts, as those who are in favor of this rapid mode of getting debts will have recourse to them. He then adverted to the clashing circumstances which must arise in the administration of justice, by these independent courts having similar powers. Gentlemen, said he, may be facetious respecting dividing the horse—but these are serious difficulties—the instances mentioned by the gentleman from South Carolina, do not apply—the officer here is the same—the same Sheriff has the precepts committed to him—and the execution does not clash—the same goal answers for both, &c.

I do not think that the difficulties have been answered by any of the examples brought for the purpose:

As to the instance of the trial for piracy in the State of South Carolina, that was a particular case, which could not otherwise be provided for; but these so rarely happen, that no precedent can be drawn from them, to render it necessary to establish these perpetual courts.

He then refered to the observation which had been made respecting those who are opposed to the clause, offering a substitute, and said, he thought upon the whole that the motion made by an Hon. Gentleman from South-Carolina, (Mr. Burke,) that there should be no district courts, is better than any substitute.

It may be proper here to refer to the Constitution: He then read the clause upon this subject—The Supreme Federal Court is to have original jurisdiction only in certain specified cases—in all other, it is to have only appellate jurisdiction: It is argued from this, that there are to be Inferior Federal Courts, from which these appeals are to be made: If the Constitution had taken from the State Courts all cognizance of federal causes, something might be said; but this is not the case. The State Courts are allowed jurisdiction in these cases.

It has been objected that bonds taken by the Judges of the Supreme Court, cannot be sued in the State Courts: I do not see why this cannot be done: Similar processes have been usual among us in times past, and there has been no difficulty.

Admiralty Courts should have cognizance of all maritime matters, and cases of seizures should also be committed to their decision. I hope therefore that the clause will be disagreed to, or struck out, and that the bill may be rejected, that a short concise system may be adopted.

Mr. VINING: I conceive that the institution of general and independent tribunals, are essential to the fair and impartial administration of the laws of the United States—That the power of making laws, of executing laws, and a judicial administration of such laws, is in its nature, inseparable and indivisible, if not "*Justice might be said to be lame as well as blind among us.*" The only plausible argument which has been urged against this clause, is the expence: It is true, that expence must in some degree be necessarily incurred, but it will chiefly consist and end with the organization of your courts, and the erection of such buildings as may be essential—such as Court-Houses, Jails, and Offices, as the gentleman has mentioned—and what, at all events, do such expences amount to—they are the price which is paid for the fair and equal administration of your laws: From your amazingly encreasing system of government, causes must necessarily multiply in a proportionately extensive ratio: These causes must be tried some where, and whether it is in a State Court, or a Federal Judicature, can, in the article of expence, make but little difference to the parties: It is only (for the sake of more impartial justice) transfering the business from one tribunal to another.

The gentleman has told us, that the people do not like courts—that they have been opposed and prevented by violence—nay, by an insurrection in Massachusetts: Surely this operates as a powerful reason to prove that there should be a general, independent, and energetic judicature—otherwise, if either the State Judges should be so inclined, or a few sons of faction choose to assemble, they could ever frustrate the objects of Justice—and besides, from the different periods fixed by the Constitution of the United States, and the different Constitutions of the several States, with respect to the continuance of the Judges in office, it is equally impossible and inconsistent, to make a general uniform establishment, so as to accommodate them to your government.

I wish to see Justice so equally distributed as that every citizen of the United States should be fairly dealt by, and so impartially administered, that every subject or citizen of the World, whether foreigner or alien, friend or foe, should be alike satisfied: By this means you would expand the doors of justice, encourage emigration from all countries into your own, and in short, would make the United States of America, not only an Asylum of Liberty, but a Sanctuary of Justice: The faith of treaties would be preserved inviolately—your extensive funding system would have its intended operation—and your revenue, your navigation, and your impost laws would be executed so as to receive their many advantages—and in effect establish the public and private credit of the Union.

Mr. STONE: I have given the arguments all the attention which their weight demands, considering the respectability of the characters which have spoken upon the subject.

It has been said that the clause in the Constitution is *imperative*—if this is the case, let us see where it will carry us: It is conceded on all hands that the establishment of these Courts is immutable; but the Constitution says, that Congress shall constitute such inferior Courts *from time to time*.

The Constitution gives you a right to extend the judiciary power to all those cases specified; but it does not say that these powers *shall* be *exercised* over all these cases.

He then extended this idea to the Legislative Power, which it cannot be pretended (said he) is incomplete, because it is not extended to all possible cases: Do you divest yourself of the power by not exercising it? Certainly not. This idea involves the principle mentioned by the gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Benson,) that the establishment of these inferior tribunals or district courts, will draw the whole judiciary power along with them; so that the clause which restricts their cognizance to a certain sum, is a nullity.

State Judges may be considered in two respects, as men, and as Judges: As men, they are to submit to the modification of the Constitution, as it respects them as citizens: As Judges, they are to consider their relation as such to the Constitution, and are to administer justice agreeable to that Constitution, or they may resign. I can hardly bring myself to consider the subject in a reverse point of view: If it is admitted that the Judges of the several States cannot take cognizance of a law of the United States, because they are laws *de novo*, you annihilate their judicial capacity at a blow.

It appears to me that there is nothing that the State Courts are not competent to, but certain cases which are specially designated.

He then went on to shew that there was no species of treason which could be committed against

the United States, which is not committed againſt the individual States, and added, bonds given to the Judges of the Supreme Court, and debts due to foreigners, I believe, may be ſued for in any of the State Courts. I think the inconveniencies which will attend theſe courts have been explained.

He then cited ſome inſtances to ſhew that theſe difficulties could not be argued from paſt experience—there are no inſtances in point.

In caſe of a man's being committed to a State goal, the State would not grant a writ of *habeas corpus* to convey the man to the goal of the United States—and this would apply alſo to property.

He then traced the effects of this claſhing of the judicial powers to a rencontre between the two poſſe commitatæ, till murder was committed on both ſides: In which caſe, ſaid he, you muſt hang on both ſides.

He then pointed out the advantages that foreigners would have over the citizens: A citizen can now get his money in three years, with an intereſt of 5 pr. cent. but in theſe courts, foreigners can get their debts in one year, with an intereſt of 7 or 8 pr. cent.

From the foregoing I conceive, that this ſyſtem cannot be agreeable to the people: This muſt ſuppoſe a revolution in the principles of their repreſentative aſſemblies.

I do not think this the proper time to eſtabliſh theſe courts: It is a meaſure on which the affection and attachment of the people to the Conſtitution will be riſked: I think it beſt to defer the buſineſs till the neceſſity for theſe courts ſhall become apparent: I could therefore wiſh that the power ſhould be reſerved for the occaſion, and that nothing ſhould be done the preſent ſeſſion but what is abſolutely neceſſary.

I am for this government's moving as ſilent as death—that the people ſhould not perceive the leaſt alteration in their ſituation: The exerciſe of this power will be the moſt odious that can be exerciſed—for as a gentleman has ſaid, of all the wheels in the machine of government, the Judicial is the moſt diſagreeable.

Mr. GERRY was oppoſed to the motion for ſtriking out the clauſe, and entered into a conſideration of the conſtructions of the ſeveral State Judiciaries, by which, he ſaid, that it is expreſsly againſt the Conſtitution to inveſt the Judges of the State Courts with authority to take cognizance of federal actions—That the Legiſlature of the Union being bound by oath to ſupport and adminiſter the Conſtitution—they are conſequently bound to eſtabliſh theſe courts to carry their laws into operation: As to the difficulties which gentlemen had contended will ariſe from the claſhing of the two judicatories, theſe difficulties may be obviated, and a little experience will lead to the moſt ample proviſion to that point.

Mr. SUMPTER ſaid, he did not diſpute the right of Congreſs to exerciſe this authority; but he doubted the expediency at the preſent time.

Mr. BURKE roſe to enquire of the gentleman who made the motion, whether he meant by it to knock up the bill altogether, or to offer a ſubſtitute—for if he meant to knock the bill entirely away, he would moſt heartily join him—as I conceive, ſaid he, that the bill is founded in deception: It is calculated to miſlead the people, for under a ſhew of juſtice, it will deprive them of their rights and privileges—I am therefore for knocking the whole of it away entirely.

Mr. LIVERMORE ſaid that was his intention.

His motion was however, as before ſtated, negatived by a large majority.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 1.

Subſtance of Mr. LAURANCE'S *SPEECH on the* JERSEY ELECTION.

I muſt confeſs the ſubject is of a nature not altogether agreeable, becauſe if members for whom we have a perſonal eſteem, ſhould be excluded from a ſeat, the event would be attended with feelings of regret on our part. But I think it neceſſary that we ſhould expreſs freely our real ſentiments. The Conſtitution has given this body a right to judge of the elections, qualifications, and returns of its members, though the mode of their election in the firſt inſtance has been referred to the laws of the ſeveral States. It is the buſineſs of this houſe, therefore, to determine, whether the election of the ſitting Members has been conformable to the law which was enacted for that purpoſe. I preſume this will be the queſtion. If it has been agreeable to the law, it will be the duty of this houſe to make the declaration. If it has not, the houſe muſt declare the election invalid.

The law of New Jerſey declares that the election of the members ſhall be in the ſame manner, and under the ſame regulations as the election of repreſentatives for the Legiſlature of the State. It is neceſſary therefore to enquire what was that mode from which we are to conclude reſpecting this election. The law relative to the election of repreſentatives in the State Aſſembly fixes no time of limitation for giving in the votes and declaring the election; but the practice under that law has ever been to declare the returns of the elected, previous to the meeting of the Legiſlature. The late law had evident reſpect to the time at which Congreſs were to meet. By reaſonable conſtruction, therefore, we muſt conclude, that the intention of the law was, that the election ſhould be declared before the day appointed for the aſſembling of the Congreſs. This is plain when we conſider the uniform practice of the State.

It may be aſked further, what was the ſenſe of the people of New-Jerſey on the ſubject. It appears that a majority of the counties in Jerſey did actually cloſe their polls, and make the returns previous to the 4th of March. If we are to reaſon therefore from the conduct of a majority of the State, we may conclude that their opinion was agreeable to this conſtruction. It appears alſo the governor gave this conſtruction. This appears from his letter to the members of the council, requeſting their attendance on the third of March, as he expected on that day the whole election-returns. He knew what reaſon he had to expect it. If he had not ſuppoſed it material, he was not obliged to ſummon them on that day. It is clear to me from theſe circumſtances that the election ought to have been declared on the third of March, and that the authority of the Governor expired with that day. If we admit a contrary ſuppoſition, that he had a continuing authority, it would lead to abuſes. If he might extend it a day, he might protract it a month, or to an unlimited time. It might defeat the election, or it might put it in the power of the Governor to determine who ſhould be the ſitting members:—In ſhort it would put the law in the power of the Governor; but it never can be rationally contended that the law ſhould have an operation which may defeat the deſign of it, or be committed to a diſcretion, which may produce the ſame effect.

But admiting that the Governor's authority was not expended, and that he had a right to delay, it becomes a queſtion, to what time he ſhould extend this delay. It appears from the clauſe in the law which confers the power on the Governor, that he is obliged to determine from *the greateſt number of votes of the whole State*. The inference from this will be, that the Governor and Council were to wait till they had received all the votes from all the counties. But it may be ſaid that this would put it in the power of a ſingle county to defeat the law. Admitted—Whoſe fault is it? If the State would paſs a law putting it in the power of a county to defeat the law, the State muſt ſuffer the conſequences. The time fixed by the Governor for the ſecond meeting of the council was arbitrary.

From theſe conſiderations, I think it muſt reſult, that the election of the preſent members from New-Jerſey was not conformable to the law, and therefore not valid. [DAILY ADV.]

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

Debate on the ſubject of fixing the PERMANENT *SEAT of GOVERNMENT.*

Mr. LEE roſe and obſerved, that the Houſe are called on to deliberate on a great national queſtion; and I hope, ſaid he, they will diſcuſs and decide on it with that diſpaſſionate deliberation, which its magnitude requires. He then propoſed the following reſolution: "Whereas the people of the United States have aſſented to, and ratified a Conſtitution for their government, to provide for their defence againſt foreign danger, to ſecure their perpetual union, and domeſtic tranquility, and to promote their common intereſts; and all theſe great objects will be beſt effected by eſtabliſhing the permanent ſeat of government in a ſtation as nearly central as a convenient water communication with the Atlantic Ocean, and an eaſy acceſs to the Weſtern Territory will permit; and as it will be ſatisfactory to the people of the United States, and give them a firm confidence, in the juſtice and wiſdom of their government, to be aſſured that ſuch a ſtation is already in the contemplation of Congreſs, and that proper meaſures will be taken to aſcertain it, and to provide the neceſſary accommodations, as ſoon as the indiſpenſible arrangements for carrying into effect the Conſtitution can be made, and the circumſtances of the United States will permit; "Reſolved, that a place as nearly central, as a convenient water communication with the Atlantic Ocean, and an eaſy acceſs to the Weſtern Territory will permit, ought to be ſelected and eſtabliſhed as the permanent ſeat of the government of the United States."

I wiſh the principles of the government to be recognized, that the people of the United States may be able to judge whether, in the meaſures about to be adopted, they are carried into execution by this Houſe. If theſe great principles are not preſerved, it will be an unhappy fulfilment of thoſe predictions, which have been made by the opponents of the Conſtitution, that the general intereſt of America would not be conſulted, that partial meaſures would be purſued, and that inſtead of being influenced by a general policy directed to the good of the whole, one part of the Union would be depreſſed and trampled on to benefit and exalt the other. Inſtead of accompliſhing and realiſing thoſe bright proſpects which ſhone upon us in the dawn of our government, and for which our patriots fought and bled, we ſhall find the whole to be a viſionary fancy. I flatter myſelf, that before the Houſe decides on the queſtion before them, thoſe principles will be recognized, if it is meant that they ſhould be regarded.

Mr. HARTLEY ſuported the motion of Mr. Goodhue, and pointed out Wright's ferry, on the Suſquehanna, as an eligible place for the ſeat of government.—This I conſider, ſaid he, as the middle ground between the Delaware, which might be ſuppoſed a northern object, and the Patowmac on the ſouth.—He went largely into a diſplay of the natural and and artificial advantages which this place preſented; its ſafety, its eaſy communication with the Weſtern Country and the Atlantic, its extreme fertility, the purity of the climate, and its abundant population.

Mr. SEDGWICK: I hope, Sir, that the motion of Mr. Lee will not obtain. The gentlemen, who moved the other day to have this buſineſs brought on this ſeſſion, can not fail to recollect, that they were called on and intreated to defer this buſineſs. They were told that this was not the time, conſiſtently with the real good of the country, to determine the permanent reſidence of Congreſs. They were told that the government was not yet in operation—that the union was not yet complete—yet THAT gentleman particularly, and the majority of the Houſe ſuppoſed that ſuſpending it would occaſion ſo much diſſatisfaction and agitation, that the peace and happineſs of the country required a ſpeedy deciſion. As my own and other gentlemen's remonſtrances proved ineffectual, and it was reſolved to bring the buſineſs on immediately, I am now ready to meet the gentlemen, prepared to decide upon the important ſubject. I ſhall oppoſe the motion of Mr. Lee, becauſe it involves unneceſſary delay.

Mr. TUCKER reprobated the motion of Mr. LEE. He wiſhed to know what gentlemen were going about.—It ſeemed to him that the propoſition was a preamble: Was it cuſtomary to agree to a preamble before the ſubſtance of a reſolution was determined on? No—The regular way was firſt to agree to the ſubſtance then to the preamble.

Mr. LEE aſſured Mr. TUCKER that fair dealing was his object. He wiſhed to bring forward thoſe conſiderations which ought to guide their judgment. A queſtion is to be decided which involves preſent and future intereſts, and extends to remote generations. The queſtion is to be ſettled, which muſt determine whether the government is to exiſt for ages, or be diſperſed among the contending winds.—Will gentlemen ſay, that theſe principles ought not to be recognized? Will gentlemen ſay that the centre of government ſhould not be the centre of the Union? Shall it not be in a ſituation which will admit of an eaſy communicacion to the ocean? Will they ſay that our weſtern brethren are to be diſregarded? Theſe are the momentous conſiderations which ſhould lead the Houſe to a concluſion. If they are diſregarded it will be an alarming circumſtance to the people of the ſouthern States. They have felt theſe alarms already. It was with difficulty on another occaſion that their apprehenſions on this ſcore were ſilenced, and their difficulties ſurmounted. If this queſtion is decided without regarding theſe intereſts, it will be ſaid that a Congreſs is found, who are not diſpoſed to recognize the general principles of the government. I have come forward, he ſaid, with ſuch explicit propoſitions as the intereſt of my country dictates. Some principles ought to be previouſly eſtabliſhed as a guide, as a polar ſtar to direct the Houſe to juſt concluſions.

Mr. MADISON aſked if the motion of his colleague could be ſuppoſed out of order. He ſubmited that to the chair; does it contain any thing, ſaid he, which is not true? I appeal to the candid judgment of the committee. Are the truths contained in the propoſition inapplicable to the ſubject? I appeal to the juſtice and policy of the people of the United States. The poſition is ſtrictly in order. Is it improper or inapplicable to declare the principles which ought to govern on this queſtion, and which are properly prefixed to the motion that lies on the table?

Mr. AMES ſaid—I am at a loſs to conceive why the gentlemen from Virginia are ſo agitated and anxious to preſs the ſubject of theſe reſolutions. The gentleman has aſked, Is there any thing contained in the propoſition which is not true? Is there any thing not applicable to the ſubject? And by way of concluſion, aſks whether the reſolution ſhall not therefore paſs? But is ſuch a concluſion neceſſary to theſe premiſes? If they are true, why be ſo ſolicitous? Does truth acquire any new authority by being frequently voted? If they are truths, will not thoſe truths guide us? But I have, he ſaid, another difficulty. If the Houſe ſhould vote theſe propoſitions, the gentleman may bring forward other abſtract queſtions without limitation, and ſupported by the ſame arguments; and may then aſk, are theſe things true? Are not theſe things applicable? And in this way the Houſe will have upon their journals all the arguments which can ariſe out of this multifarious ſubject.—But is there any neceſſity for it? Will it not embarraſs the committee? It is not our buſineſs, he ſaid, to ſyllogize upon abſtract principles, like ſchool logicians, but to ſettle facts. I inſiſt that if the principles

are uncontrovertably true, there was no uſe in inſerting them.

The queſtion was then taken on Mr. LEE's motion, and negatived.—34 againſt 18.

The next queſtion was on the original motion of Mr. SCOTT.

Mr. TUCKER was oppoſed to ſettling any principles whatever. He declared that the majority for fixing on any ſet of principles could not govern his mind with regard to the fact. If on the whole, he did not think that place the beſt which the principles adopted by the commitee ſhould ſeem to lead to, he certainly could not vote for it.

Mr. MADISON moved that the word "wealth" be ſtruck out. He obſerved that population and extent of territory are the only main principles which ought to govern. Government is intended for the equal accommodation of all ranks of citizens. They ought all to be ſo favored, that they may eaſily tranſmit their grievances, and receive thoſe bleſſings the government is intended to diſpenſe. The rich are certainly not leſs able than the poor to reſort to the government, or to eſtabliſh the neceſſary means of ſecuring its advantages. If there are any ſuperior advantages to be enjoyed from the preſence of the government, I rather ſuppoſe that it ought to move towards thoſe who moſt want its protection.

The queſtion on this motion was taken and negatived.—Ayes 22—Noes 27.

The queſtion was then taken on the original reſolution of Mr. SCOTT, and carried.—Ayes 35—Noes 14. *(To be continued.)* *(Daily Adv.)*

SATURDAY, SEPT. 5.

Mr. SENEY, of the committee appointed to take into conſideration the memorial of JOHN WHITE, late Continental Commiſſioner of Accounts for the State of Pennſylvania, and his Aſſiſtants brought in a report, which was in favor of granting the prayer o the memorial.

In Committee of the whole on the ſubject of a permanent reſidence.

Mr. BOUDINOT in the chair.

The reſolutions ſubmitted by Mr. FITZSIMONS yeſterday, were read, and taken into conſideration. Several objections were made to the idea of purchaſing the ſoil for the federal reſidence, as it would ſubject the States to a heavy expence, which might be avoided. The Conſtitution, it was ſaid, contemplated a ceſſion of territory by the States for the purpoſe. To this it was replied, that the word ceſſion refered to the *juriſdiction*, and not to the *ſoil*—and examples were adduced to ſhew that ceſſions of territory do not imply any thing more than a transfering of the juriſdiction—as, after ſuch ceſſions, the property of individuals is not changed.

The committee could not agree upon filling up the blank before the word "years", reſpecting the temporary reſidence, *five, four, three, two, and one* were negatived—It was at length agreed to paſs it over, and to take it up in the houſe.

The blank before the word "dollars" was filled with *one hundred thouſand*—time, to be repaid in "twenty years"—intereſt at not more than 5 pr. cent. pr. ann. Theſe reſolutions were then adopted by the committee, and reported to the houſe.

A motion for adjournment being negatived, the Houſe proceeded to the conſideration of the report.

Mr. LEE introduced a new preamble as an introduction to this buſineſs—which after ſome diſcuſſion was withdrawn.

The firſt reſolution (Mr. SCOT's) was then agreed to by the Houſe.

Mr. LEE again propoſed to ſtrike out "eaſt bank of the Suſquehanna" and to inſert *north bank of the Patowmac*: This produced further debate, which laſted ſo long as to preclude a deciſion this day. *Adjourned.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

In Committee of the whole on the ſubject of the permanent reſidence.

Mr. LEE's motion in favor of the Patowmac was taken up, and the *ayes* and *noes* being called for by that gentleman, the motion was negatived—29 to 21.

Mr. VINING moved to ſtrike out "eaſt bank of the Suſquehanna" and inſert *the borough of Wilmington, in the State of Delaware.* He enforced this motion by ſtating the advantages in point of ſituation, healthineſs of climate, proviſions, and immediate accommodations: The laſt of which he urged with additional energy, as it would ſupercede the neceſſity of the great expence attending the Suſquehanna. On this queſtion Mr. VINING called for the *ayes* and *noes*, which were noes 32, ayes 19—ſo the motion was loſt.

Mr. BOUDINOT brought forward a motion founded upon ſome reſolutions of the late Congreſs reſpecting the permanent reſidence. He went into a general diſcuſſion of the principles that ought to influence Congreſs in all its deciſions, more eſpecially on a ſubject of this magnitude and importance. He ſtated a variety of objections to the Suſquehanna, and moved that it be ſtruck out, to inſert *Patowmac, Suſquehanna, or Delaware*: If this is agreed to, ſaid he, I ſhall move for a committee to go to theſe ſeveral places, that a thorough inveſtigation of the whole buſineſs may be had, previous to a final deciſion, The *ayes* and *noes* being called, there appeared 23 ayes—28 noes—ſo the motion was negatived.

Mr. BOUDINOT then moved to inſert *on either ſide the banks of the Delaware*, not more than 8 miles above or below the lower falls. The *ayes* and *noes* being called, were, noes 46, ayes 4.

It was then moved to ſtrike out the word "eaſt" before *bank*: This was determined in the affirmative, by a majority of one, the ayes and noes being called.

It was then moved by Mr. LEE to inſert, after the words "Suſquehanna, in the State of Pennſylvania," *or Maryland.* This motion was negatived—*ayes* 26—*noes* 25.

Mr. VINING moved that "the borough of Wilmington" be inſerted, as the temporary reſidence of Congreſs: This being ſeconded, the ayes and noes were called on the queſtion, which was loſt—*ayes* 21—*noes* 30.

Mr. PARKER moved to ſtrike out "New-York," and inſert *Philadelphia*, as the temporary reſidence. The *ayes* and *noes* being called, the ſame was loſt, there being 29 in the negative, and 22 in the affirmative.

A motion for adjournment being put and loſt, the houſe proceeded and completed the reſolutions: The time to be allowed for erecting the buildings, is fixed at four years.

A committee, conſiſting of Mr. AMES, Mr. LAURANCE, and Mr. CLYMER, was appointed to prepare and report a bill to carry theſe reſolutions into effect.

A meſſage was received from the Senate with the bill for altering the department of foreign affairs into the department of State, and attaching thereto certain additional duties. The ſalary bill, for the officers of the Executive Department, the bill for compenſating the ſervices of the Preſident and Vice-Preſident, and the bill for compenſating the Members of both Houſes, all with amendments.——*Adjourned.*

☞ *The* ayes *and* noes *upon the above intereſting queſtions were called ſo frequently, that we have not room for their inſertion this day; but they ſhall appear in our next.*

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

Petitions from the Freemen of the towns of Providence, Newport, &c. upon the operation of the collection and tonnage laws were read, and refered to a committee already appointed to take into conſideration the memorial reſpecting North-Carolina, &c.

Mr. BOUDINOT preſented a petition from ſundry inhabitants of the State of New-Jerſey, chiefly practitioners in law, reſpecting the place pointed out in the judiciary bill for holding the diſtrict courts in Eaſt New-Jerſey, and praying that Perth Amboy may be the place for holding thoſe courts.

The Houſe then took up the amendments of the Senate to the bill for eſtabliſhing the ſalaries of the officers of the Executive Department.

The firſt amendment was to add 500 dollars to the ſalary of the Secretary of State—which being agreed to, his ſalary is 3500 dollars.

The ſecond was to reduce the ſalary of the Auditor from 1500 dollars, to 1250—this was diſagreed to.

The third, to ſtrike out 1600 dollars, the ſalary of the Treaſurer, and inſert 2000. Diſagreed to.

The fourth, to ſtrike out 500 dollars, from the ſalary of the Governor of the Weſtern Territory.

This amendment was oppoſed, as involving the diminution of a ſalary which was annexed to two very important and expenſive offices. The amendment was diſagreed to.

The fifth, to ſtrike out 1500 dollars, the ſalary of the Aſſiſtant of the Secretary of the Treaſury, and to inſert 1700. Diſagreed to.

The ſixth was to give the principal Clerk to the Treaſurer, a ſalary of 600 dollars. Agreed to.

The ſeventh was to empower the heads of the departments to appoint their reſpective clerks. Agreed to.

And the laſt was to raiſe the ſalaries of the inferior Clerks to 500 dollars—which was agreed to.

The amendment of the Senate to the bill for allowing compenſations to THE PRESIDENT and VICE-PRESIDENT, was next taken up: The Senate propoſed that the Vice-Preſident ſhould receive 6000 dollars, pr. ann. This amendment was diſagreed to.

The amendments of the Senate to the bill for allowing compenſations to the members of the two houſes, and their reſpective officers were next read. In the firſt amenoment the Senate adheres to its former reſolution reſpecting a diſcrimination.

It was then moved by Mr. LIVERMORE, that the houſe ſhould recede from their diſagreement to this amendment of the Senate.

This was ſeconded by Mr. BENSON—who obſerved, that the Legiſlature is now brought into ſuch a ſituation, as that if the houſe ſhould refuſe to recede from their diſagreement, there is the greateſt danger of a diſſolution of the government: And as the diſcrimination is not to take place till the end of ſix years, it may be conſidered as an appeal to our conſtituents, who will undoubtedly determine the matter for the Legiſlature in that period.

The vote being taken on the motion to recede, it paſſed in the negative. It was then voted that a conference ſhould be requeſted with the Senate upon this buſineſs—and Meſſrs SHERMAN, TUCKER, and BENSON were appointed Conferrees on the part of the Houſe.

The amendments to the bill providing for the ſafe keeping of the acts, records, and great ſeal of the United States, &c. were read and agreed to by the houſe.

Mr. CARROL preſented a repreſentation from the inhabitants of George Town on the Patowmac, on the ſubject of the permanent reſidence of Congreſs. Read and laid on the table.

Mr. GERRY moved a reſolution to the following effect: That monies ſhall not be drawn from the Treaſury unleſs by appropriations, made and confirmed by Congreſs, ſubſequent to the 4th of March laſt. Laid on the table.

In Committee of the whole on the bill for eſtabliſhing Judicial Courts. Some progreſs was made in the 4th ſection.

Adjourned.

FREDRICKSBURG, AUGNST 27.

On Tueſday, the 25th inſt. died at her houſe in this town, Mrs. MARY WASHINGTON, aged 82 years, the venerable mother of the illuſtrious Preſident of the United States, after a long and painful indiſpoſition, which ſhe bore with uncommon patience. Though a pious tear of duty, affection and eſteem, is due to the memory of ſo revered a character, yet our grief muſt be greatly alleviated from the conſideration that ſhe is relieved from the pitiable infirmities attendant on an extreme old age.—It is uſual when virtuous and conſpicuous perſons quit this terreſtial abode, to publiſh an elaborate panegyric on their characters—ſuffice it to ſay, ſhe conducted herſelf through this tranſitory life with virtue, prudence and chriſtianity, worthy the mother of the greateſt Hero that ever adorned the annals of hiſtory.

O may kind heaven, propitious to our fate,
Extend THAT HERO'S *to* her *lengthen'd date;*
Through the long period healthy, active, ſage;
Nor know the ſad infirmities of age.

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 9.

It appears by the public papers from all quarters, that the States are more and more coaleſcing under the new government: Their reſpective Legiſlatures and Judiciaries are taking and ſubſcribing the oath to ſupport the new Conſtitution: And the people are turning their eyes to its benign operations, as to their hope and confidence.

Recent accounts ſtate, that NORTH-CAROLINA and RHODE-ISLAND will very probably ſoon come into the federal Family: In the mean time the Legiſlature of the Union, are paying all due attention to their repreſentations and petitions upon thoſe parts of the revenue Laws which bear hard upon them, by reaſon of their preſent alien ſituation.

It has been obſerved that a vein of ill nature is predominant in moſt of the ſtrictures upon the operations of the general government which have appeared in the papers: The motives of gentlemen whoſe characters are irreproachable, have been impeached: Opprobrious epithets have been applied: and the deciſions of the majority have been *reprehended* in a ſtile more indicative of ſpleen, party, envy, and diſappointment, than of the leaſt traces of patriotiſm: But it is a conſoling reflection, that the carpings of theſe reſtleſs votaries of confuſion, are very generally deſpiſed and reprobated.

There is much wiſdom in the Fable of the old man who ſat out to cary his aſs to market:—For he that thinks he can pleaſe every body, will find himſelf miſerably miſtaken.

Perhaps this Fable applies to no profeſſion more aptly, than to that of Printers: But at this moment a very uſeful leſſon may be drawn from it by legiſlators.—It is very deſirable to give univerſal ſatisfaction, but as this is impoſſible, the concluſion is, to act agreeable to the dictates of the beſt light and information that preſents.—This will ſatisfy the reaſonable and patriotic mind: But carpers and popularity ſeekers are the moſt arbitrary of all mankind, and it is in vain to expect they will ever be ſatisfied.

THEATRICALS.

The principal part of the entertainment at the *Theatre*, on Monday evening, was the new comedy, entitled "*The* FATHER, or AMERICAN SHANDYISM," the production of an American, a young gentleman of this city.—This circumſtance occaſioned a crouded houſe; and from the reiterated plaudits which followed almoſt every exhibited incident, it is preſumed that the public taſte has very ſeldom been gratified in a higher degree.

The parts were very judiciouſly aſſigned, and ſupported with great animation and propriety.

The PROLOGUE and EPILOGUE were finely adapted, and their delivery received uncommon applauſe.

A correſpondent obſerves, that ſentiment, wit and *comique* humour are happily blended in that moſt ingenious performance "THE FATHER, or AMERICAN SHANDYISM;" nor is that due proportion of the pathetic which intereſts the fineſt feelings of the human heart, omitted. The happy alluſions to characters and events, in which every friend to our country feels intereſted—and thoſe traits of benevolence which are brought to view in the moſt favourable circumſtances, conſpired to engage, amuſe, delight, and inſtruct the audience through five acts of alternate anticipations, and agreeable ſurprizes.—This *Comedy* bids fair to be a favorite entertainment, and a valuable acquiſition to the ſtage.

Wiſe men have frequently remarked, that as vices are more effectually obviated by education than by penalties, ſo improper cuſtoms and manners are better corrected by the mild influence of example, than by means more ſevere and leſs captivating. It is much to be wiſhed that all whoſe ſituations and characters naturally tend to excite imitation, were well apprized of the importance of their conduct in this reſpect. There are doubtleſs many cuſtoms as well as pleaſures which, although lawful, are not adviſeable; and therefore had better be declined: Among theſe the expenſive and oſtentatious parade of mourning on the death of relations may be numbered. In whatever cauſes it may have originated, or by whatever policy it may in other countries have been countenanced, we have much reaſon to believe that in America it is inexpedient. It certainly produces no good to the public, that can compenſate for its inconveniences to individuals, eſpecially as foreign and not domeſtic manufactures are encouraged by it. The memorable Congreſs of 1774 thought it neceſſary to correct the errors of this cuſtom, and circumſcribe it within the bounds of decent economy and rational ſimplicity. Their ſentiments were then generally adopted, and until within a few years generally prevailed: But the force of former habits, combined with certain other cauſes, gradually prompted ſo many to relapſe into the preceding faſhion, that the one introduced by Congreſs, notwithſtanding all its evident advantages, has been loſing ground, and would probably in the courſe of a few years have been laid aſide, had not the example of our patriotic PRESIDENT interpoſed to revive it. We lament that the death of an affectionate and amiable mother, preſented the occaſion: circumſtanced as he is, all regard to expence muſt have been out of queſtion, and filial attachment probably ſuggeſted and urged thoſe conſpicuous manifeſtations of grief and reſpect which a cuſtom but too univerſal ſeemed to require. Public conſiderations, however, appear to have prevailed; and it gives us pleaſure to inform our fellow-citizens, that the Preſident and his lady, together with all his family, wear the mourning which the Congreſs of 1774 recommended.

The heart *that mourns needs no external ſign,*
To ſpeak the agony that preys within;
"Small griefs are loud!" and aſk an outward *ſhow:*
Retir'd and ſilent is the deepeſt woe.

"Living under good government, we have confident hopes, as a people, of riſing, and taking an eminent ſtand among the nations; of ſucceeding in the great intereſts of liberty, ſecurity in perſon and property, and an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; and as individuals, of finding merit rewarded with honour, and abilities with profit. We have lately emerged from a long and arduous conflict, in which, while we were taught the bleſſings of peace, have been draining thoſe ſources of wealth, which, if much encreaſed, would probably have introduced luxury and effeminacy, which are ſo fatal to the independence and happineſs of a people. During the ſtruggle we became poor, but were ſtill ambitious; and by the fruitful colliſion of pride and poverty, were ſtruck out thoſe ſparks of invention, which have been ſo improving to arts and manufactures, that our ports are already ſhutting againſt foreign merchandiſe.

"Our caſh which has flowed in ſuch plentiful ſtreams to foreign markets, will now be put into the pockets of the induſtrious poor; and thoſe evils, which have been ſo long oppreſſive to them will be converted into bleſſings, and by giving them employment will become their ſupport. The method propoſed for collecting a revenue by impoſt will have a tendency to lighten the burdens of the poor; to give a check to luxury and encouragement to induſtry. It is complained by ſome, that our government is too expenſive and numerous; but "in the multitude of counſellors there is ſafety." Let us not anticipate evils that are not, and probably never will be, real. Our proſpects are certainly good, and we have well grounded hopes, that, under the patronage of confederated wiſdom, the good work, in which is begun our happineſs, will be continued and completed. And we may preſume, with the favor of Providence, that we ſhall be proſperous; that it will ſoon be the triumphant and joyful acclamation of every American, that "where liberty and happineſs dwell, there is my country."

(Worceſter Speculator.)

☞ *A Hymn on a late ſacramental occaſion in our next.*

The Squadron of His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Fleet, mentioned in our laſt, under the Command of M. Le Vicomte De PONTEVES GIEN, *arrived in Boſton harbor, the third inſtant.*

ARRIVALS. NEW-YORK.

Sunday, Sloop Induſtry, Dunn, Philadelphia, 6 day.
Monday, Schooner Backus, Dekay, Quebec, 15 days.
Sloop Aurora, Cahoone, Rhode-Iſland, 5 days.
Tueſday, Ship Evarietta, Lindſay, Havre-de-Grace, 56 days.
Schooner Adventure, Parker, Kingſton, 31 days.
Sloop Fanny, Gore, Edenton, (N.C.) 12 days.
Sloop Hudſon Packet, Bencker, Edenton, 12 days.
Sloop Hancock, Brown, Rhode Iſland, 2 days.
Sloop Eleanora, Taylor, Leith, 70 days.

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 9, 1789.

LETTER from a gentleman in a neighbouring, town to his friend in this city.

DEAR SIR,

THE news-papers you ſent me containing two *letters, wrote by ſome members of the Houſe of Repreſentatives to their conſtituents in Pennſylvania, upon the ſubject of compenſations, and in juſtification of the ſame, as agreed to by the Houſe, have come ſafe to hand. I have read theſe letters with attention and ſurpriſe; and it is difficult for me to ſuppreſs my wonder, that gentlemen can adopt ſuch exceeding weak and inconſiſtent arguments in juſtification of a meaſure which they declare themſelves to be convinced of the propriety of. There is ſcarce any one thing that gives one a more unfavorable opinion of public meaſures, and leads more to a doubt of their utility, than to find weak and ſlimſy arguments offered in ſupport thereof by their warmeſt advocates. But theſe letter-writers do not ſtop here; for their arguments and reaſoning, weak as they appear to be, are yet founded upon miſrepreſentation, and a reference to facts which have no real exiſtence. What can be more diſtant from truth than to ſay, as one of them does, that ſix dollars a day is leſs than was given under the articles of confederation by the States, except New-Jerſey? The fact is, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut, and ſome others, for years, gave their delegates no more than five dollars a day; and this ſum under circumſtances very diſadvantageous to the receiver. He ſays further "*that Maſſachuſetts gave her delegates a guinea a day and paid all their expences of board &c. beſides,*" This is totally falſe. In no period, if I have been rightly informed, did the Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts allow her delegates, under the old confederation, a guinea a day, and pay their expences beſides; but on the contrary, for two or three years, that Commonwealth paid their delegates, only $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars a day, out of which they paid their expences. Surely this writer muſt have been ignorant of the facts, or he was diſpoſed to lead his correſpondents, and through them as a medium of communication, his conſtituents, into an error. Gentlemen who mean to reaſon, and draw concluſions from facts, ought to be careful that their facts are true: But in the preſent caſe, it ſeems not to have been advantageous to the letter-writer's object, *which was to juſtify to his conſtituents, the compenſations allowed themſelves and under officers*, to ſuffer the truth of fact to be known; for had he done this, they would have drawn concluſions, and juſtly too, the reverſe of what he wiſhed to put into their mouths. Maſſachuſetts never gave more than ſix dollars a day; and but a very few years, when money was ſcarce half ſo valuable as at this time, did they come up to that ſum.—The ſame is fact with many other States.

He is equally miſtaken when he advances that had a medium been ſtruck from the guides left by the States, the wages of the members would have been nearer ſeven than ſix dollars: For if an accurate enquiry be made, I doubt not but it will appear, that a majority of the States, for half the time under the confederation or more, have given a ſum under ſix dollars, taking into conſideration the value of money during that and the preſent piods; and in general have verged father towards a ſum under than over ſix dollars. But theſe letter-writers drive on with one miſrepreſentation upon the back of another, as though they were determined to confound the underſtandings of their conſtituents with falſehoods, or run themſelves out of all credit upon this ſubject; and I am ſuſpicious that the latter would be the caſe were the whole truth to be known. In the rage of juſtifying their conduct to their conſtituents, one of them heſitates not to declare, "that "the ſums granted by the States to their delegates were paid dur- "ing the whole year; whereas, the ſum voted for us (that is the "preſent Members of Congreſs) will be paid only two or three "months in a year." Is the author of this aſſertion an honeſt man? If you anſwer in the affirmative, I muſt reply, he has undertaken to write upon a ſubject of which he is moſt conſummately ignorant: or ſo prejudiced in favour of his ſix dollars a day, that every thing entering his mind is immediately converted into an argument to juſtify the meaſure. I think I may ſay with truth, that not more than two States have uniformly allowed their delegates a ſalary by the year. Indeed I doubt whether any State has done this, but South-Carolina. But how does this wonderful logician know that Congreſs will ſet only two or three months in a year? Admiting, however, that in ſome future years two or three months a year will be ſufficient for Congreſs to diſcharge the duties required of them by the citizens of the United States; and that ſix dollars a day will be a moderate compenſation for their ſervices and time then rendered their conſtituents: I ſay admitting this to be true, how does it juſtify, or even look like a reaſon, for allowing that ſum to the Members of Congreſs at this time, ſince they will be employed more than eight months a year during the preſent election. This writer evidently admits, that the pay of the Members ought to be in ſome inverſe ratio of the ſum to the time they ſhall be employed at Congreſs: That is if they are employed two or three months in a year ſix dollars is a moderatate compenſation.—If a longer time a ſmaller ſum will be juſt. But here he has forgot the force of his own argument, and fixed a ſum, which would be reaſonable when the members are engaged only two or three months in a year, for their pay now they are actually employed ſix months, and perhaps more in a year. But the real truth of the matter, I believe is this, thoſe who advocate high pay want the money.—They are ſenſible the ſums the Houſe has agreed upon are high, compared with the general ſenſe of their conſtituents, or to the grounds on which compenſation is uſually founded, and they are now drove to miſrepreſentation and ſophiſtry to juſtify their conduct.

"*Our conſtituents*," continues one of theſe letters, "*in complain-* "*ing, forget the ſacrifice we make of domeſtic happineſs, time, and even* "*health to their ſervice.*" To this I cannot help obſerving, I am not acquainted with any ſcale, by which diurnal pay or compenſation can be adjuſted, as an equivolent, for the ſacrifice of domeſtic happineſs; therefore, till he or ſome body elſe ſhall ſupply me with one, I am unable to ſay that ſix dollars a day is either too much or too little, on this account: I am of opinion, however, that domeſtic happineſs is a very uncertain rule to adjuſt pecuniary compenſations by; and were we to judge from the apparent willingneſs that ſome tarry at the ſeat of government, it would be doubtful whether their being from home ought to operate to the increaſe or diminution of their compenſation on the ſcore of domeſtic happineſs.

As to the ſacrifice of health, I don't know that a gentleman riſques his health in attending Congreſs, where they ſet not more than three or four hours in a day, and frequently not more than five days in a week: That is twenty-five or thirty hours in ſeven days! Very tender and delicate indeed, our Members of Congreſs are grown all at once. If I did not apprehend the ladies would look upon it an uſurpation of their department, I would propoſe that theſe extreme delicate tender gentlemen ſhould be recalled from the laborious, fatiguing employment of walking to the Federal Hall and ſetting there three or four hours in a day for five days in a week, and put to knitting; or if that be too hard for them to handling the cambric needle. Not many days ſince I fell in company with one of the Members of Congreſs, whoſe countenance was plenary evidence that roaſt beef and generous wine were his favorites; and yet he complained moſt bitterly of ill health and want of exerciſe.—I aſked him if he took the air every morning—for Congreſs not meeting till eleven, the members had abundant of time to walk or ride both for health and amuſement. Oh dear, replied the ruddy picture of health and ſtrength, I cannot riſe early enough in the morning for that; my health wont admit my riſing before eight or nine; and then I have barely time to dreſs before breakfaſt, which brings eleven o'clock. Poor feeble ſon of Mars, quoth I, I pity you; ſleep and delicacy will hurt you more than the duties of your office.——So we parted.

Can theſe letter writers be ſerious when they offer ſuch reaſons as are contained in their letters, to their conſtituents to juſtify their conduct to them in advocating grants of money which they eſteem profuſe? If theſe arguments ſatisfy their conſtituents, I am grieved for their want of information, and confeſs to you that I have miſtaken their character. Many circumſtances have led me to believe the great body of the people in Pennſylvania to be a well informed, judicious people; whence I conclude they will reſent, with juſt indignation, the attempt theſe letter writers have made to miſrepreſent facts, and impoſe error, inſtead of truth, upon their underſtandings.

I would here cloſe my letter, for I fear it is already too long, but there is one argument made uſe of in theſe letters, which I wiſh to remark upon; alſo becauſe it is a favorite topic with thoſe who advocate high compenſations: Indeed it has ſo often been employed, as appears by the news-papers and the debates of Congreſs, that it actually ſlips out on all occaſions; it ſeems to be uſed like *the quack's noſtrum*, as a remedy for all diſeaſes. The argument is couched in the following ſentence: "If that policy "ſhould govern which you ſpeak of in your letter, you can never "expect men of *ſmall fortune* to accept ſeats in Congreſs, and many "ſuch poſſeſs eminent talents for public life. On the contrary "your government will be adminiſtered only by a few ariſto- "cratic nabobs, who can afford to live without wages upon the "income of large eſtates." I really wiſh this letter had pointed out, or laid down ſome other clue than he has, by which theſe rich men, or *nabobs* might be found, who, he ſays, will be willing to ſerve in Congreſs without wages. I declare to you, Sir, I have found none of this deſcription in the courſe of my acquaintance; and I have good evidence to believe there are none in America. For many years I have been attentive to the conduct of man--I have watched the rich, or as he expreſſes the ſame character, *the nabobs*; and the poor, or men of *ſmall fortunes*; and the uniform tenor of conduct exhibited to the world by theſe two deſcriptions of men has convinced me that the poſition contained in the quotation is not true: Becauſe I find that men of *ſmall fortunes*, among whom, tis confeſſed there are gentlemen of eminent abilities for public ſervice, are generally ſatisfied with leſs ſums, by way of compenſation for ſervices rendered the public, than thoſe *nabobs*, into whoſe hands he is fearful the adminiſtration of government will fall. Therefore, to avoid what this letter ſo much fears, and what all friends to their country muſt deprecate as the greateſt calamity that can befall the people, that is *the adminiſtretion of our federal government by nabobs*, the ſalaries and compenſations for public ſervices muſt be moderate. If the juſt ſum could be known, it would be better for the public that the ſalaries and compenſations ſhould fall ſhort than exceed that ſum. Pray look round you, my friend, and ſee who they are that raiſe this cry againſt moderate compenſations. Are they the men of ſmall fortunes? No. They are either the *ariſtocratic nabobs* themſelves; or ſuch as wiſh to become nabobs, and will plunder the public rather than not gain their point.

It is an uncontrovertable truth, that he who poſſeſſes much wants more in proportion to what he has already obtained. So that to ſatisfy theſe *rich men or nabobs*, by increaſing their pay, is equally abſurd, as it would be to attempt to conquer death by filling the grave with the carcaſſes of dead men. The expences of rich men and nabobs are great, conſequently it is ſuch only who cry out againſt ſmall compenſations in favor of great ones. Theſe cannot reſide at the ſeat of government without expending large ſums of money: They, from habits of luxury and diſſipation, muſt keep up *that deportment of the gentleman* which peculiarly requires ſix or ſeven dollars to diſcharge their daily expenditures. But *nabobs* will never ſubject themſelves to ſuch an expenſive ſituation, provided they muſt draw upon their own fortunes, inſtead of compenſations from the public, for what they expend.

On the other hand, men of *ſmall fortunes*, from which claſs of citizens we muſt look for men of *eminent talents* as well as integrity and patriotiſm, have been educated in a mode of life that naturally creates habits of frugality, economy, attention to buſineſs, and uſeful information. The expences of theſe are ſmall; their views are regulated more by the rules of private convenience and public neceſſity, than the va'n parade of a court, or the triſling, tho' expenſive round of etiquette. The expences of theſe two claſſes of men are eſſentially different, being regulated on different principles: Thoſe of the former are ſubject to the whim and caprice of folly and faſhion—the latter to economy and prudence, Hence, if you contemplate the nature of man, with the views and paſſions of thoſe two claſſes, that is, *the nabobs* and men of *ſmall fortunes*, you will not heſitate to ſay, theſe letter-writers are miſtaken in their reaſonings and concluſions, as well as the facts they would found their arguments upon.

When this ſubject is duly examined, it appears to me, that America has nothing to fear from Congreſs fixing the ſalaries and compenſations ſmall and moderate. This meaſure will always ſecure the attention of men of ſmall fortunes, whom it is an object of importance to bring into the adminiſtration. While high ſalaries and profuſe compenſation will hold out allurements to ſpendthrifts and nabobs, from whoſe ſentiments and manners America has every evil to apprehend.

One principle more is held up in theſe letters, moſt pernicious to a republican government, which I ſhall barely mention and bid you adieu. It is that ſalaries and compenſations ſhould be ſo high as very few perſons dare preſent themſelves as candidates. However the citizens of Pennſylvania may ſwallow down ſuch ſentiments, becauſe they come from their repreſentatives; I hope and truſt, they will be reprobated by every true republican whole heart beats for his country's good.——Good God! Are the Legiſlators of America adviſed to affix ſuch compenſations as a reward for public ſervices, that none but *the rich* and *the nabobs* dare aſpire to!—when theſe ſentiments are adopted and practiſed upon in America—then certainly we may join theſe deſpotic letter writers, and ſay, "*farewel to the liberties of our country.*"

* *The letters here refered to, were firſt publiſhed in the New-York Daily Gazette, on the 24th and 31ſt of Auguſt.*

EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS, BY LATE ARRIVALS.

CONSTANTINOPLE, APRIL 7.

The ſecond diviſion of the fleet has left the arſenal, compoſed of four ſhips of the line, from 50 to 60 guns, and ſix frigates; they are waiting for ſailors from the Black-Sea, where orders have been ſent to enliſt them. All the maritime forces are, according to the orders of the late Sultan, to join at Bujukdere, and be ready to ſail by the 22d inſt. but the departure of the grand fleet depends upon the return of the firſt diviſion, and the deſigns of Selim III, which are not yet known.

APRIL 25. Among the troops that are filing off from Conſtantinople, five companies of Janiſſaries, of 1000 men each, quarrelling among themſelves, on their arrival at Pontepiccoli, a dreadful maſſacre took place, inſomuch, that of the 5000 very few arrived at the camp.

BERLIN, MAY 30.

We learn from Jaffy, that the defeat of Ibraham Raſſa, by the Ruſſian general Dorfeld, has had ſuch an effect upon the Turks, that they have abſolutely abandoned the ſtrong fortreſs of Brahilow and the Ruſſians are marching to take poſſeſſion of it. Galacz is ſtrongly garriſoned by the Ruſſians, who have found a rich booty in that place, the capture of which cuts off all communication between Wallachia and Siliſtria, with Ruſchuk and other places on the Danube.

LONDON, MAY 12.

A queſtion of pretty general concern was decided on Saturday in the Court of King's Bench, viz. "Whether a perſon, at an auction, had a right to retract a bidding, previous to the lot being knocked down?" It was contended that he had not, upon the grounds that the conditions expreſsly ſtated that the laſt bidder ſhould be the buyer, and that a perſon's firſt bidding, and being at liberty to retract, might prove injurious to property, by conveying an idea to the company that ſome defect had been diſcovered: but this was over-ruled by the court, who obſerved, that to make a contract binding the conſent of both parties was neceſſary; whereas in this caſe, the bidding was a mere offer on one ſide, which was not accepted by the other until the hammer was actually down; and therefore the party had certainly a right to retract while that was ſuſpended.

JUNE 20.

Extract of a letter from Paris, June 1.

"M. De la Fayette continues to act a ſteady faithful part in favor of the rights of mankind.

"The Comte de Mirabeau, by a ſeries of proſtitute, unprincipled conduct, has loſt all the weight he might have had, and to which his talents and enlightened mind entitled him, on this glorious occaſion.

"M. le Meunier, one of the deputies for Dauphiny, and mover of the glorious revolution, laſt year, in that province, is looked up to with hope and confidence by the nation.

"The diſputes between the Three Eſtates are far from being in a train of accommodation. The Nobleſſe, at leaſt at Paris, have reſumed that hauteur which we imagined they had been inclined to lay aſide. The Clergy began to repent of the conceſſions which they made to the Tiers Etat, who, on their ſide are determined to throw down every barrier between the people and the honors of the ſtate, and to aboliſh every odious diſtinction between the various claſſes of citizens.—A fracas happened laſt week on the Point Neuf, which was attended with the moſt ſerious conſequence.—The Count de B——lle, riding furiouſly, and without giving notice, in a phæton and four, over the bridge, ran down ſeveral pedeſtrians. One unfortunate man loſt his life, and ſeveral had their limbs deſperately cruſhed. A general cry of "Arretez, arretez le foutre," was vociferated from all ſides. In a moment the carriage was ſtopped—the mob dragged from his ſeat the trembling patrician, and regardleſs of his cries and piteous intreaties threw him headlong from the bridge, juſt by the equeſtrian ſtatue of King Henry the Fourth. This miſerable martyr to intemperate inſolence, was in an inſtant daſhed to pieces in his fall. Not ſatisfied with this vengeance, the populace proceeded to demoliſh the carriage, which they broke into a thouſand fragments."

Among other privileges now contending for by the French nation, is that of trial by jury, which if once eſtabliſhed, will for ever ſecure their political and perſonal liberties on a baſis ſo firm as can not be overturned, but by a power that muſt convulſe the whole kingdom, and tear up all remains of civil liberty by the very roots.

July 2. The *Romulus* of America, General Waſhington, paſſed, on the 21ſt of April laſt, under the Triumphal Arch erected on Trenton bridge. He was attended by a proceſſion, part of which conſiſting of females, dreſſed in white, preceded him, ſtrewing roſes, and ſinging an ode.

Sir William Howe, when he left Philadelphia, carried a Triumphal Arch to be erected, under which he walked with his brother, Lord Howe, both crowned with *laurel*. We never heard *why?*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Begun and held at the City of *New-York*, on Wedneſday the Fourth of *March*, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Nine.

An ACT *for ſettling the* ACCOUNTS *between the* UNITED STATES *and* INDIVIDUAL STATES.

BE *it enacted by the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States of America in Congreſs aſſembled*, That the Preſident of the United States be, and he hereby is impowered to nominate, and by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate, to appoint ſuch perſon or perſons as he may think proper, for ſupplying any vacancy that now is, or may hereafter take place in the Board of Commiſſioners, eſtabliſhd by an ordinance of the late Congreſs, of the ſeventh of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, to carry into effect the ſaid ordinance and reſolutions of Congreſs, for the ſettlement of accounts between the United States and individual States.

And be it further enacted, That the ſaid Board of Commiſſioners be, and they hereby are impowered to appoint a chief clerk, and ſuch other clerks as the duties of their office may require, and that the pay of the ſaid chief clerk be ſix hundred dollars per annum, and of each other clerk four hundred dollars per annum.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.
JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-Preſident of the United States, and Preſident of the Senate.*

APPROVED, AUGUST the 5th, 1789.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Preſident of the United States.*

Publiſhed by JOHN FENNO, No. 9, MAIDEN-LANE, near the *Oſwego-Market*, NEW-YORK.—[3 *dol. pr. an.*]